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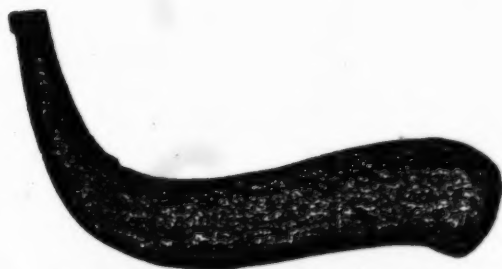
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Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.



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Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeyť. (1/5 nat. size.)

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Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task and go back to the village where the chicha or kāwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them.

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- 243 The sad state of decline in which the Chiriguano are at present
 ● 476 has put an end to collective work, and it is only rarely that sowing
 178 is done in common. Each one must provide for his needs without
 any assistance other than that of his near relatives.

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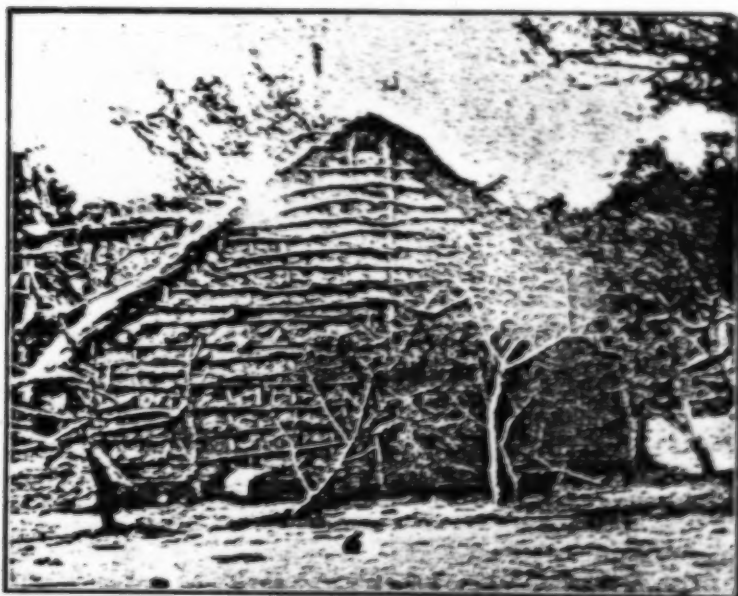


Fig. 6. Chiriguano hut (ho), temporarily abandoned by its inhabitants, who have gone to work in the fields. Caipipendí. (Photo. A. M.)

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The Chiriguano cultivate the following plants:
 Corn (avati): 11 varieties;
 Beans (kumanda): 11 varieties;
 Squash (andai and grindaka-wasu): 5 varieties;
 Sweet potatoes (yeti): 6 varieties;
 Yucca or sweet manioc (mandio) (Manihot utilisima Pohl);
 Groundnuts (manduvi);
 Pimento /peppers/ (kii) (Capsicum), very rarely cultivated;

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Modern Houses

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1464
1488

A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

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/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, hut. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

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I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are, generally six posts

[Text continues on P. 235]

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[574] which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.

Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 42 o/o in some and in others 38, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[178] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rains, and even more in the ones, that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams; the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny ceiba bark, which is called Samuu by the Indians and Toboroche by the whites.

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The hardest part is finished with the previous operation: a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or sebil and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned liana. Some people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

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1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners; at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capil, red straw, or, should this not be available, with capianca, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capil may last for more than ten years.

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If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls; the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks; he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capil between two horizontal canes toward the side of the roofs, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /172/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

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1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely; the destruction of this necessary

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element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

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When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 20 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, ariviri, it is a feast or carnival for all.

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The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier.

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Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season.

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Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, treading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

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The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha; next they too dig in the wet soil /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

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With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed; at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchuras and other insects (1).

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1. In Parapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours; nothing had been prepared for this building; it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

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With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian content and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

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(B24)

The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, but vertically, with reeds back or with cowhide thongs, which are more durable indoors. If an Indian can get a cowhide, he makes a door of Cuyapa wood, or, as the whites call it, racharuma, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction; he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, makes the hide, and fastens it in this

600 /175 cont./

remains joined better and is more compact (1).

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1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

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The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

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I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, historians, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

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In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

• (476)
(574)

1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

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In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest; this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

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Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools; the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. The spade was like those used by bakers for putting bread in the oven; it was of soto wood and was attached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of toborochi bark; the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores; these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

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1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

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Planting was usually done in the month of November, after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. The cacique took part in the general planting, ordering that those under him should help one another; thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

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[534] go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

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512 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return; therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[293]
[262] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

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476 They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed; one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /241/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

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The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting, clearing, woodworking, twisting

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of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

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C
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Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

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360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

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In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.